

McNulty	Peterson (MN)	Stenholm	Frost
Meehan	Pickett	Stokes	Funderburk
Meek	Pomeroy	Studds	Furse
Menendez	Poshard	Stupak	Gallegly
Metcalf	Rahall	Taylor (MS)	Ganske
Millender-McDonald	Rangel	Tejeda	Gejdenson
Miller (CA)	Reed	Thompson	Gekas
Minge	Richardson	Thornton	Gephardt
Mink	Rivers	Thurman	Gilchrest
Moakley	Roberts	Torres	Gonzalez
Mollohan	Roemer	Torricelli	Goodlatte
Montgomery	Roybal-Allard	Towns	Gordon
Moran	Rush	Traficant	Goss
Murtha	Sabo	Velazquez	Green (TX)
Nadler	Sanders	Vento	Greene (UT)
Neal	Sawyer	Visclosky	Greenwood
Oberstar	Schroeder	Volkmer	Gunderson
Obey	Schumer	Ward	Gutierrez
Olver	Scott	Waters	Gutknecht
Ortiz	Serrano	Watt (NC)	Hall (OH)
Orton	Sisisky	Waxman	Hamilton
Owens	Skaggs	Williams	Hancock
Pallone	Skelton	Wilson	Harman
Pastor	Slaughter	Wise	Hastert
Payne (NJ)	Smith (WA)	Woolsey	Hastings (WA)
Payne (VA)	Spratt	Wynn	Hayworth
	Stark	Yates	Hefley

NOT VOTING—19

Coleman	Kaptur	Rose
Collins (IL)	Kasich	Roth
Flake	Lincoln	Smith (NJ)
Forbes	Markey	Tanner
Ford	McDade	Young (FL)
Hastings (FL)	Pelosi	
Hayes	Peterson (FL)	

So the previous question on the amendment and resolution was ordered.

The question being put, viva voce, Will the House agree to said amendment?

The SPEAKER pro tempore, Mr. UPTON, announced that the yeas had it.

So, the amendment was agreed to.

The question being put, viva voce, Will the House agree to said resolution, as amended?

The SPEAKER pro tempore, Mr. UPTON, announced that the yeas had it.

Mr. HOKE demanded that the vote be taken by the yeas and nays, which demand was supported by one-fifth of the Members present, so the yeas and nays were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device.

It was decided in the affirmative { Yeas 270
Nays 140

¶94.17 [Roll No. 362]
YEAS—270

Abercrombie	Bunning	Deal
Ackerman	Burr	DeLauro
Allard	Buyer	DeLay
Archer	Callahan	Dicks
Armey	Calvert	Dooley
Bachus	Camp	Doyle
Baker (CA)	Campbell	Dreier
Baker (LA)	Canady	Duncan
Ballenger	Cardin	Dunn
Barcia	Castle	Durbin
Barr	Chambliss	Edwards
Barrett (NE)	Chenoweth	Ehlers
Barrett (WI)	Christensen	Ehrlich
Bartlett	Clayton	Engel
Barton	Clement	Evans
Becerra	Clinger	Everett
Berman	Coble	Ewing
Bevill	Coburn	Farr
Bilirakis	Collins (GA)	Fattah
Bishop	Combest	Fawell
Bliley	Cooley	Fazio
Blumenauer	Cramer	Fields (LA)
Boehner	Crapo	Fields (TX)
Bonior	Creameans	Flake
Borski	Cubin	Foglietta
Brown (CA)	Cummings	Fowler
Brown (FL)	Danner	Frank (MA)
Bryant (TN)	de la Garza	Franks (CT)

Lazio	Rivers	Rahall	Shays	Visclosky
Levin	Roemer	Ramstad	Skeen	Volkmer
Lewis (GA)	Rogers	Rangel	Skelton	Waters
Lewis (KY)	Rohrabacher	Roberts	Smith (WA)	Watt (NC)
Lightfoot	Royce	Ros-Lehtinen	Stearns	Weldon (FL)
Linder	Rush	Roukema	Stenholm	White
Lofgren	Sabo	Roybal-Allard	Thompson	Wilson
Lowey	Salmon	Sanders	Tiahrt	Wolf
Lucas	Sawyer	Sanford	Torkildsen	Wynn
Maloney	Saxton	Schroeder	Traficant	Young (AK)
Manullo	Scarborough	Schumer	Velazquez	Zimmer
Mascara	Schaefer	Serrano	Vento	
Matsui	Schiff			
McCarthy	Scott			
McCrery	Seastrand	Bono	Ford	Rose
McDermott	Sensenbrenner	Bryant (TX)	Hastings (FL)	Roth
McHugh	Shadegg	Chrysler	Hayes	Smith (NJ)
McInnis	Shaw	Coleman	Kasich	Tanner
McIntosh	Shuster	Collins (IL)	Lincoln	Torricelli
McKeon	Sisisky	Cox	Markey	Walsh
McKinney	Skaggs	Dornan	McDade	Young (FL)
Meek	Slaughter	Forbes	Peterson (FL)	
Menendez	Smith (MI)			
Meyers	Smith (TX)			
Mica	Solomon			
Millender-McDonald	Souder			
Miller (FL)	Spence			
Minge	Spratt			
Moakley	Stark			
Molinari	Stockman			
Montgomery	Stokes			
Moorhead	Studds			
Moran	Stump			
Morella	Stupak			
Myrick	Talent			
Nadler	Tate			
Nethercutt	Tauzin			
Neumann	Taylor (MS)			
Ney	Taylor (NC)			
Norwood	Tejeda			
Nussle	Thomas			
Oberstar	Thornberry			
Olver	Thornton			
Ortiz	Thurman			
Owens	Torres			
Oxley	Towns			
Pallone	Upton			
Parker	Vucanovich			
Pastor	Walker			
Paxon	Wamp			
Payne (VA)	Ward			
Pelosi	Watts (OK)			
Petri	Waxman			
Pombo	Weldon (PA)			
Pomeroy	Weller			
Porter	Whitfield			
Pryce	Wicker			
Radanovich	Williams			
Reed	Wise			
Regula	Woolsey			
Richardson	Yates			
Riggs	Zeliff			

NAYS—140

Andrews	Dickey	Klink
Baersler	Dingell	Klug
Baldacci	Dixon	LaFalce
Bass	Doggett	Lantos
Bateman	Doolittle	Leach
Beilenson	English	Lewis (CA)
Bentsen	Ensign	Lipinski
Bereuter	Eshoo	Livingston
Bilbray	Filner	LoBiondo
Blute	Flanagan	Longley
Boehlert	Foley	Luther
Bonilla	Fox	Manton
Boucher	Franks (NJ)	Martinez
Brewster	Frelinghuysen	Martini
Browder	Frisa	McCollum
Brown (OH)	Geren	McHale
Brownback	Gibbons	McNulty
Bunn	Gillmor	Meehan
Burton	Gilman	Metcalf
Chabot	Goodling	Miller (CA)
Chapman	Graham	Mink
Clay	Hall (TX)	Mollohan
Clyburn	Hansen	Murtha
Collins (MI)	Hefner	Myers
Condit	Hilliard	Neal
Conyers	Hoke	Obey
Costello	Holden	Orton
Coyne	Horn	Packard
Crane	Inglis	Payne (NJ)
Cunningham	Jackson (IL)	Peterson (MN)
Davis	Jacobs	Pickett
DeFazio	Johnson, Sam	Portman
DeLums	Kanjorski	Poshard
Deutsch	Kaptur	Quillen
Diaz-Balart	King	Quinn

NOT VOTING—23

Bono	Ford	Rose
Bryant (TX)	Hastings (FL)	Roth
Chrysler	Hayes	Smith (NJ)
Coleman	Kasich	Tanner
Collins (IL)	Lincoln	Torricelli
Cox	Markey	Walsh
Dornan	McDade	Young (FL)
Forbes	Peterson (FL)	

So the resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider the vote whereby said resolution was agreed to was, by unanimous consent, laid on the table.

¶94.18 CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

The SPEAKER pro tempore, Mr. UPTON, pursuant to House Resolution 481 and rule XXIII, declared the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 3820) to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to reform the financing of Federal election campaigns, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore, Mr. UPTON, by unanimous consent, designated Mr. INGLIS as Chairman of the Committee of the Whole; and after some time spent therein,

¶94.19 RECORDED VOTE

A recorded vote by electronic device was ordered in the Committee of the Whole on the following amendment in the nature of a substitute submitted by Mr. FAZIO:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the “American Political Reform Act”.

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

TITLE I—CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN SPENDING LIMITS AND BENEFITS

Subtitle A—Election Campaign Spending Limits and Benefits

Sec. 101. Spending limits and benefits.

Subtitle B—Limitations on Contributions to House of Representatives Candidates

Sec. 121. Limitations on political committees.

Sec. 122. Limitations on political committee and large donor contributions that may be accepted by House of Representatives candidates.

Subtitle C—Related Provisions

Sec. 131. Reporting requirements.

Sec. 132. Registration as eligible House of Representatives candidate.

Sec. 133. Definitions.

Subtitle D—Tax on Excess Political Expenditures of Certain Congressional Campaign Funds

Sec. 141. Tax treatment of certain campaign funds.

TITLE II—INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

Sec. 201. Clarification of definitions relating to independent expenditures.

Sec. 202. Reporting requirements for certain independent expenditures.

TITLE III—CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES BY POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES

- Sec. 301. Definitions.
- Sec. 302. Contributions to political party committees.
- Sec. 303. Increase in the amount that multi-candidate political committees may contribute to national political party committees.
- Sec. 304. Merchandising and affinity cards.
- Sec. 305. Provisions relating to national, State, and local party committees.
- Sec. 306. Restrictions on fundraising by candidates and officeholders.
- Sec. 307. Reporting requirements.

TITLE IV—CONTRIBUTIONS

- Sec. 401. Restrictions on bundling.
- Sec. 402. Contributions by dependents not of voting age.
- Sec. 403. Prohibition of acceptance by a candidate of cash contributions from any one person aggregating more than \$100.
- Sec. 404. Contributions to candidates from State and local committees of political parties to be aggregated.
- Sec. 405. Prohibition of false representation to solicit contributions.
- Sec. 406. Limited exclusion of advances by campaign workers from the definition of the term "contribution".
- Sec. 407. Amendment to section 316 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.
- Sec. 408. Prohibition of certain election-related activities of foreign nationals.

TITLE V—REPORTING REQUIREMENTS

- Sec. 501. Change in certain reporting from a calendar year basis to an election cycle basis.
- Sec. 502. Disclosure of personal and consulting services.
- Sec. 503. Political committees other than candidate committees.
- Sec. 504. Use of candidates' names.
- Sec. 505. Reporting requirements.
- Sec. 506. Simultaneous registration of candidate and candidate's principal campaign committee.
- Sec. 507. Reporting on general campaign activities of persons other than political parties.

TITLE VI—BROADCAST RATES AND CAMPAIGN ADVERTISING

- Sec. 601. Broadcast rates and campaign advertising.
- Sec. 602. Campaign advertising amendments.
- Sec. 603. Eligibility for nonprofit third class bulk rates of postage.

TITLE VII—MISCELLANEOUS

- Sec. 701. Prohibition of leadership committees.
- Sec. 702. Appearance by Federal Election Commission as amici curiae.
- Sec. 703. Prohibiting solicitation of contributions by members in hall of the House of Representatives.

TITLE VIII—EFFECTIVE DATES; AUTHORIZATIONS

- Sec. 801. Effective date.
- Sec. 802. Severability.
- Sec. 803. Expedited review of constitutional issues.
- Sec. 804. Regulations.

TITLE I—CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN SPENDING LIMITS AND BENEFITS

Subtitle A—Election Campaign Spending Limits and Benefits

SEC. 101. SPENDING LIMITS AND BENEFITS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 is amended by adding at the end the following new title:

"TITLE V—ELECTION SPENDING LIMITS AND BENEFITS

"TITLE V—ELECTION SPENDING LIMITS AND BENEFITS

"Subtitle A—Election Campaigns for the House of Representatives

- "Sec. 501. Expenditure limitations.
- "Sec. 502. Personal contribution limitations.
- "Sec. 503. Definition.

"Subtitle B—Administrative Provisions

- "Sec. 511. Certifications by Commission.
- "Sec. 512. Examination and audits; repayments and civil penalties.
- "Sec. 513. Judicial review.
- "Sec. 514. Reports to Congress; certifications; regulations.
- "Sec. 515. Closed captioning requirement for television commercials of eligible candidates.

"Subtitle C—Congressional Election Campaign Fund

- "Sec. 521. Establishment and operation of the Fund.
- "Sec. 522. Designation of receipts to the Fund.

"Subtitle A—Election Campaigns for the House of Representatives

"SEC. 501. EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS.

"(a) IN GENERAL.—An eligible House of Representatives candidate may not, in an election cycle, make expenditures aggregating more than \$600,000.

"(b) RUNOFF ELECTION AND SPECIAL ELECTION AMOUNTS.—

"(1) RUNOFF ELECTION AMOUNT.—If an eligible House of Representatives candidate is a candidate in a runoff election, the candidate may make additional expenditures aggregating not more than \$200,000 in the election cycle.

"(2) SPECIAL ELECTION AMOUNT.—An eligible House of Representatives candidate who is a candidate in a special election may make expenditures aggregating not more than \$600,000 with respect to the special election.

"(c) CLOSELY CONTESTED PRIMARY.—If, as determined by the Commission, an eligible House of Representatives candidate in a contested primary election wins that primary election by a margin of 20 percentage points or less, the candidate may make additional expenditures aggregating not more than \$200,000 in the election cycle.

"(d) EXCEPTIONS TO LIMITATIONS.—

"(1) NONPARTICIPATING OPPONENT.—The limitations imposed by subsections (a) and (b) do not apply in the case of an eligible House of Representatives candidate if any other general election candidate seeking nomination or election to that office—

"(A) is not an eligible House of Representatives candidate; and

"(B) makes expenditures in excess of 30 percent of the limitation under subsection (a).

"(2) INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES AGAINST ELIGIBLE CANDIDATE.—The limitations imposed by subsections (a) and (b) do not apply in the case of an eligible House of Representatives candidate if the total amount of independent expenditures made during the election cycle on behalf of candidates opposing such eligible candidate exceeds \$15,000.

"(3) CONTINUED ELIGIBILITY FOR BENEFITS.—An eligible House of Representatives can-

didate referred to in paragraph (1) or paragraph (2) shall continue to be eligible for all benefits under this title.

"(e) EXEMPTION FOR LEGAL COSTS AND TAXES.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—Any costs incurred by an eligible House of Representatives candidate or his or her authorized committee, or a Federal officeholder, for qualified legal services, for Federal, State, or local income taxes on earnings of a candidate's authorized committees, or to comply with section 512 shall not be considered in the computation of amounts subject to limitation under this section.

"(2) QUALIFIED LEGAL SERVICES.—For purposes of this subsection, the term 'qualified legal services' means—

"(A) any legal service performed on behalf of an authorized committee; or

"(B) any legal service performed on behalf of a candidate or Federal officeholder in connection with his or her duties or activities as a candidate or Federal officeholder.

"(f) EXEMPTION FOR FUNDRAISING OR ACCOUNTING COSTS.—Any costs incurred by an eligible House of Representatives candidate or his or her authorized committee in connection with the solicitation of contributions on behalf of such candidate, or for accounting services to ensure compliance with this Act, shall not be considered in the computation of amounts subject to expenditure limitation under subsection (a) to the extent that the aggregate of such costs does not exceed 10 percent of the expenditure limitation under subsection (a).

"(g) INDEXING.—The dollar amounts specified in subsections (a), (b), and (c) shall be adjusted at the beginning of each calendar year based on the increase in the price index determined under section 315(c), except that, for the purposes of such adjustment, the base period shall be calendar year 1996.

"(h) RECALL ACTIONS.—The limitations of this section do not apply in the case of any recall action held pursuant to State law.

"SEC. 502. PERSONAL CONTRIBUTION LIMITATIONS.

"(a) PERSONAL CONTRIBUTIONS.—An eligible House of Representatives candidate may not, with respect to an election cycle, make contributions or loans to the candidate's own campaign totaling more than \$50,000 from the personal funds of the candidate. Contributions from the personal funds of a candidate may not qualify for certification for voter benefits under this title.

"(b) LIMITATION EXCEPTION.—The limitation imposed by subsection (a) does not apply—

"(1) in the case of an eligible House of Representatives candidate if any other general election candidate for that office makes contributions or loans to the candidate's own campaign totaling more than \$50,000 from the personal funds of the candidate; or

"(2) with respect to any contribution or loan used for costs described in section 501 (e) or (f).

"(c) AGGREGATION.—For purposes of subsection (a), any contribution or loan to a candidate's campaign by a member of a candidate's immediate family shall be treated as made by the candidate.

"SEC. 503. DEFINITION.

"As used in this title, the term 'benefits' means, with respect to an eligible House of Representatives candidate, reduced charges for use of a broadcasting station under section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 315) and eligibility for nonprofit third-class bulk rates of postage under section 3626(e) of title 39, United States Code.

"Subtitle B—Administrative Provisions

"SEC. 511. CERTIFICATIONS BY COMMISSION.

"(a) GENERAL ELIGIBILITY.—The Commission shall certify whether a candidate is eligible to receive benefits under subtitle A.

The initial determination shall be based on the candidate's filings under this title. Any subsequent determination shall be based on relevant additional information submitted in such form and manner as the Commission may require.

"(b) CERTIFICATION OF BENEFITS.—

"(1) DEADLINE FOR RESPONSE TO REQUESTS.—The Commission shall respond to a candidate's request for certification for eligibility to receive benefits under this section not later than 5 business days after the candidate submits the request.

"(2) REQUESTS.—Any request for certification submitted by a candidate shall contain—

"(A) such information and be made in accordance with such procedures as the Commission may provide by regulation; and

"(B) a verification signed by the candidate and the treasurer of the principal campaign committee of such candidate stating that the information furnished in support of the request, to the best of their knowledge, is correct and fully satisfies the requirement of this title.

"(3) PARTIAL CERTIFICATION.—If the Commission determines that any portion of a request does not meet the requirement for certification, the Commission shall withhold the certification for that portion only and inform the candidate as to how the request may be corrected.

"(4) CERTIFICATION WITHHELD.—The Commission may withhold certification if it determines that a candidate who is otherwise eligible has engaged in a pattern of activity indicating that the candidate's filings under this title cannot be relied upon.

"(c) WITHDRAWAL OF CERTIFICATION.—If the Commission determines that a candidate who is certified as an eligible House of Representatives candidate pursuant to this section has made expenditures in excess of any limit under subtitle A or otherwise no longer meets the requirements for certification under this title, the Commission shall revoke the candidate's certification.

"SEC. 512. EXAMINATION AND AUDITS; REPAYMENTS AND CIVIL PENALTIES.

"(a) EXAMINATIONS AND AUDITS.—

"(1) GENERAL ELECTIONS.—After each general election, the Commission shall conduct an examination and audit of the campaign accounts of 5 percent of the eligible House of Representatives candidates, as designated by the Commission through the use of an appropriate statistical method of random selection, to determine whether such candidates have complied with the conditions of eligibility and other requirements of this title. The Commission shall conduct an examination and audit of the accounts of all candidates for election to an office where any eligible candidate for the office is selected for examination and audit.

"(2) SPECIAL ELECTION.—After each special election involving an eligible candidate, the Commission shall conduct an examination and audit of the campaign accounts of all candidates in the election to determine whether the candidates have complied with the conditions of eligibility and other requirements of this Act.

"(3) AFFIRMATIVE VOTE.—The Commission may conduct an examination and audit of the campaign accounts of any eligible House of Representatives candidate in a general election if the Commission determines that there exists reason to believe whether such candidate may have violated any provision of this title.

"(b) NOTIFICATION OF EXCESS EXPENDITURES.—If the Commission determines that any eligible candidate who has received benefits under this title has made expenditures in excess of any limit under subtitle A, the Commission shall notify the candidate.

"(c) CIVIL PENALTIES.—

"(1) EXCESS EXPENDITURES.—

"(A) LOW AMOUNT OF EXCESS EXPENDITURES.—Any eligible House of Representatives candidate who makes expenditures that exceed a limitation under subtitle A by 2.5 percent or less shall pay to the Commission an amount equal to the amount of the excess expenditures.

"(B) MEDIUM AMOUNT OF EXCESS EXPENDITURES.—Any eligible House of Representatives candidate who makes expenditures that exceed a limitation under subtitle A by more than 2.5 percent and less than 5 percent shall pay to the Commission an amount equal to three times the amount of the excess expenditures.

"(C) LARGE AMOUNT OF EXCESS EXPENDITURES.—Any eligible House of Representatives candidate who makes expenditures that exceed a limitation under subtitle A by 5 percent or more shall pay to the Commission an amount equal to three times the amount of the excess expenditures plus, if the Commission determines such excess expenditures were knowing and willful, a civil penalty in an amount determined by the Commission.

"(2) MISUSED BENEFITS OF CANDIDATES.—If the Commission determines that an eligible House of Representatives candidate used any benefit received under this title in a manner not provided for in this title, the Commission may assess a civil penalty against such candidate in an amount not greater than 200 percent of the amount involved.

"(d) LIMIT ON PERIOD FOR NOTIFICATION.—No notification shall be made by the Commission under this section with respect to an election more than 3 years after the date of such election.

"SEC. 513. JUDICIAL REVIEW.

"(a) JUDICIAL REVIEW.—Any agency action by the Commission made under the provisions of this title shall be subject to review by the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit upon petition filed in such court within 30 days after the agency action by the Commission for which review is sought. It shall be the duty of the Court of Appeals, ahead of all matters not filed under this title, to advance on the docket and expeditiously take action on all petitions filed pursuant to this title.

"(b) APPLICATION OF TITLE 5.—The provisions of chapter 7 of title 5, United States Code, shall apply to judicial review of any agency action by the Commission.

"(c) AGENCY ACTION.—For purposes of this section, the term 'agency action' has the meaning given such term by section 551(13) of title 5, United States Code.

"SEC. 514. REPORTS TO CONGRESS; CERTIFICATIONS; REGULATIONS.

"(a) REPORTS.—The Commission shall, as soon as practicable after each election, submit a full report to the House of Representatives setting forth—

"(1) the expenditures (shown in such detail as the Commission determines appropriate) made by each eligible candidate and the authorized committees of such candidate;

"(2) the benefits certified by the Commission as available to each eligible candidate under this title; and

"(3) the names of any candidates against whom penalties were imposed under section 512, together with the amount of each such penalty and the reasons for its imposition.

"(b) DETERMINATIONS BY COMMISSION.—Subject to sections 512 and 513, all determinations (including certifications under section 511) made by the Commission under this title shall be final and conclusive.

"(c) RULES AND REGULATIONS.—The Commission is authorized to prescribe such rules and regulations, in accordance with the provisions of subsection (d), to conduct such audits, examinations and investigations, and to

require the keeping and submission of such books, records, and information, as it deems necessary to carry out the functions and duties imposed on it by this title.

"(d) REPORT OF PROPOSED REGULATIONS.—The Commission shall submit to the House of Representatives a report containing a detailed explanation and justification of each rule and regulation of the Commission under this title. No such rule, regulation, or form may take effect until a period of 60 legislative days has elapsed after the report is received. As used in this subsection, the terms 'rule' and 'regulation' mean a provision or series of interrelated provisions stating a single, separable rule of law.

"SEC. 515. CLOSED CAPTIONING REQUIREMENT FOR TELEVISION COMMERCIALS OF ELIGIBLE CANDIDATES.

"No eligible House of Representatives candidate may receive benefits under subtitle A unless such candidate has certified that any television commercial prepared or distributed by the candidate will be prepared in a manner that contains, is accompanied by, or otherwise readily permits closed captioning of the oral content of the commercial to be broadcast by way of line 21 of the vertical blanking interval, or by way of comparable successor technologies."

Subtitle B—Limitations on Contributions to House of Representatives Candidates

SEC. 121. LIMITATIONS ON POLITICAL COMMITTEES.

(a) MULTICANDIDATE POLITICAL COMMITTEES.—Section 315(a)(2)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(2)(A)) is amended by striking out "with respect" and all that follows through "\$5,000," and inserting in lieu thereof: "which, in the aggregate, exceed \$5,000 with respect to an election for Federal office or \$8,000 with respect to an election cycle (not including a runoff election);".

(b) CANDIDATE'S COMMITTEES.—(1) Section 315(a) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(9) For the purposes of the limitations provided by paragraphs (1) and (2), any political committee which is established or financed or maintained or controlled by any candidate or Federal officeholder shall be deemed to be an authorized committee of such candidate or officeholder. Nothing in this paragraph shall be construed to permit the establishment, financing, maintenance, or control of any committee which is prohibited by paragraph (3) or (6) of section 302(e)."

(2) Section 302(e)(3) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 432(e)(3)) is amended to read as follows:

"(3) No political committee that supports or has supported more than one candidate may be designated as an authorized committee, except that—

"(A) a candidate for the office of President nominated by a political party may designate the national committee of such political party as the candidate's principal campaign committee, but only if that national committee maintains separate books of account with respect to its functions as a principal campaign committee; and

"(B) a candidate may designate a political committee established solely for the purpose of joint fundraising by such candidates as an authorized committee."

(c) EFFECTIVE DATES.—(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), the amendments made by this section shall apply to elections (and the election cycles relating thereto) occurring after December 31, 1996.

(2) In applying the amendments made by this section, there shall not be taken into account—

(A) contributions made or received before January 1, 1997; or

(B) contributions made to, or received by, a candidate on or after January 1, 1997, to

the extent such contributions are not greater than the excess (if any) of—

(i) such contributions received by any opponent of the candidate before January 1, 1997, over

(ii) such contributions received by the candidate before January 1, 1997.

SEC. 122. LIMITATIONS ON POLITICAL COMMITTEE AND LARGE DONOR CONTRIBUTIONS THAT MAY BE ACCEPTED BY HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CANDIDATES.

Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(1) LIMITATIONS ON CONTRIBUTIONS ACCEPTED BY HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CANDIDATE.—

“(1) POLITICAL COMMITTEES.—A candidate for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress may not, with respect to an election cycle, accept contributions from political committees aggregating in excess of \$200,000.

“(2) PERSONS OTHER THAN POLITICAL COMMITTEES.—A candidate for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress may not, with respect to an election cycle, accept contributions aggregating in excess of \$200,000 from persons other than political committees whose contributions total more than \$200.

“(3) CONTESTED PRIMARIES.—In addition to the contributions under paragraphs (1) and (2), if a House of Representatives candidate in a contested primary election wins that primary election by a margin of 20 percentage points or less, the candidate may accept contributions of—

“(A) not more than \$66,600 from political committees; and

“(B) not more than \$66,600 from persons referred to in paragraph (2).

“(4) RUNOFF ELECTIONS.—In addition to the contributions under paragraphs (1) and (2), a House of Representatives candidate who is a candidate in a runoff election may accept contributions of (A) not more than \$100,000 from political committees; and (B) not more than \$100,000 from persons referred to in paragraph (2).

“(5) EXEMPTION FOR CERTAIN COSTS.—Any amount—

“(A) accepted by a House of Representatives candidate; and

“(B) used for costs incurred under section 501 (e) and (f),

shall not be considered in the computation of amounts subject to limitation under this subsection.

“(6) TRANSFER PROVISION.—The limitations imposed by this subsection shall apply without regard to amounts transferred from previous election cycles or other authorized committees of the same candidate. Candidates shall not be required to seek the redesignation of contributions in order to transfer such contributions to a later election cycle.

“(7) INDEXATION OF AMOUNTS.—The dollar amounts specified in this subsection shall be adjusted at the beginning of each calendar year based on the increase in the price index determined under subsection (c), except that, for the purposes of such adjustment, the base period shall be calendar year 1996.”

Subtitle C—Related Provisions

SEC. 131. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.

Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 is amended by adding after section 304 the following new section:

“REPORTING REQUIREMENTS FOR HOUSE CANDIDATES

“SEC. 304A. A candidate for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress who—

“(1) makes contributions in excess of \$50,000 of personal funds of the candidate to the authorized committee of the candidate; or

“(2) makes expenditures in excess of 50 percent and 100 percent of the limitation under section 501(a);

shall report that the threshold has been reached to the Commission not later than 48 hours after reaching the threshold. The Commission shall transmit a copy to each other candidate for election to the same office within 48 hours of receipt.”

SEC. 132. REGISTRATION AS ELIGIBLE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CANDIDATE.

Section 302(e) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432(e)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraphs:

“(6)(A) In the case of a candidate for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress, who desires to be an eligible House of Representatives candidate, a declaration of participation of the candidate to abide by the limits specified in sections 315(i), 501, and 502 and provide the information required under section 503(b)(4) shall be included in the designation required to be filed under paragraph (1).

“(B) A declaration of participation that is included in a statement of candidacy may not thereafter be revoked.”

SEC. 133. DEFINITIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431) is amended by striking paragraph (19) and inserting the following new paragraphs:

“(19) The term ‘election cycle’ means—

“(A) in the case of a candidate or the authorized committees of a candidate, the term beginning on the day after the date of the most recent general election for the specific office or seat which such candidate seeks and ending on the date of the next general election for such office or seat; or

“(B) for all other persons, the term beginning on the first day following the date of the last general election and ending on the date of the next general election.

“(20) The term ‘general election’ means any election which will directly result in the election of a person to a Federal office.

“(21) The term ‘general election period’ means, with respect to any candidate, the period beginning on the day after the date of the primary or runoff election for the specific office the candidate is seeking, whichever is later, and ending on the earlier of—

“(A) the date of such general election; or

“(B) the date on which the candidate withdraws from the campaign or otherwise ceases actively to seek election.

“(22) The term ‘immediate family’ means—

“(A) a candidate’s spouse;

“(B) a child, stepchild, parent, grandparent, brother, half-brother, sister or half-sister of the candidate or the candidate’s spouse; and

“(C) the spouse of any person described in subparagraph (B).

“(23) The term ‘primary election’ means an election which may result in the selection of a candidate for the ballot in a general election for a Federal office.

“(24) The term ‘primary election period’ means, with respect to any candidate, the period beginning on the day following the date of the last election for the specific office the candidate is seeking and ending on the earlier of—

“(A) the date of the first primary election for that office following the last general election for that office; or

“(B) the date on which the candidate withdraws from the election or otherwise ceases actively to seek election.

“(25) The term ‘runoff election’ means an election held after a primary election which

is prescribed by applicable State law as the means for deciding which candidate will be on the ballot in the general election for a Federal office.

“(26) The term ‘runoff election period’ means, with respect to any candidate, the period beginning on the day following the date of the last primary election for the specific office such candidate is seeking and ending on the date of the runoff election for such office.

“(27) The term ‘special election’ means any election (whether primary, runoff, or general) for Federal office held by reason of a vacancy in the office arising before the end of the term of the office.

“(28) The term ‘special election period’ means, with respect to any candidate for any Federal office, the period beginning on the date the vacancy described in paragraph (28) occurs and ending on the earlier of—

“(A) the date the election resulting in the election of a person to the office occurs; or

“(B) the date on which the candidate withdraws from the campaign or otherwise ceases actively to seek election.

“(29) The term ‘eligible House of Representatives candidate’ means a candidate for election to the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress, who, as determined by the Commission under section 511, is eligible to receive benefits under subtitle A of title V by reason of filing a declaration of participation under section 302(e) and complying with the continuing eligibility requirements under section 511.”

(b) IDENTIFICATION.—Section 301(13)(A) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 431(13)(A)) is amended by striking “mailing address” and inserting “permanent residence address”.

Subtitle D—Tax on Excess Political Expenditures of Certain Congressional Campaign Funds

SEC. 141. TAX TREATMENT OF CERTAIN CAMPAIGN FUNDS.

(a) GENERAL RULE.—Chapter 41 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subchapter:

“Subchapter B—Excess Political Expenditures of Certain Congressional Campaign Funds

“Sec. 4915. Tax on excess political expenditures of certain campaign funds.

“SEC. 4915. TAX ON EXCESS POLITICAL EXPENDITURES OF CERTAIN CAMPAIGN FUNDS.

“(a) IMPOSITION OF TAX.—If any applicable campaign fund has excess political expenditures for any election cycle, there is hereby imposed on such excess political expenditures a tax equal to the amount of such excess political expenditures multiplied by the highest rate of tax specified in section 11(b). Such tax shall be imposed for the taxable year of such fund in which such election cycle ends.

“(b) APPLICABLE CAMPAIGN FUND.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘applicable campaign fund’ means any political organization if—

“(1) such organization is designated by a candidate for election or nomination to the House of Representatives as such candidate’s principal campaign committee for purposes of section 302(e) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432(e)), and

“(2) such candidate has made contributions to such political organization during the election cycle in excess of the contribution limitation which would have been applicable under section 501(a) or 512(a) of such Act, whichever is applicable, if an election under such section had been made.

“(c) EXCESS POLITICAL EXPENDITURES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘excess political expenditures’

means, with respect to any election cycle, the excess (if any) of the political expenditures incurred by the applicable campaign fund during such cycle, over, in the case of a House of Representatives candidate, the expenditure ceiling which would have been applicable under subtitle B of title V of such Act if an election under such subtitle had been made.

"(2) SPECIAL RULE FOR DETERMINING AMOUNT OF EXPENDITURES.—For purposes of paragraph (1), in determining the amount of political expenditures incurred by an applicable campaign fund, there shall be excluded any such expenditure which would not have been subject to the expenditure limitations of title V of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 had such limitations been applicable, other than any such expenditure which would have been exempt from such limitations under section 501(e) or 501(f) of such Act.

"(d) OTHER DEFINITIONS AND SPECIAL RULES.—For purposes of this section—

"(1) ELECTION CYCLE.—The term 'election cycle' has the meaning given such term by section 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

"(2) POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.—The term 'political organization' has the meaning given to such term by section 527(e)(1).

"(3) CERTAIN RULES MADE APPLICABLE.—Rules similar to the rules of section 4911(e)(4) shall apply."

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Chapter 41 of such Code is amended by striking the chapter heading and inserting the following:

"CHAPTER 41—LOBBYING AND POLITICAL EXPENDITURES OF CERTAIN ORGANIZATIONS

"Subchapter A. Public charities.

"Subchapter B. Excess political expenditures of certain campaign funds.

"Subchapter A—Public Charities".

(2) The table of sections for subtitle D of such Code is amended by striking the item relating to chapter 41 and inserting the following:

"Chapter 41. Lobbying and political expenditures of certain organizations."

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1996.

TITLE II—INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES
SEC. 201. CLARIFICATION OF DEFINITIONS RELATING TO INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES.

(a) INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURE DEFINITION AMENDMENT.—Section 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431) is amended by striking paragraphs (17) and (18) and inserting the following:

"(17)(A) The term 'independent expenditure' means an expenditure that—

"(i) contains express advocacy; and

"(ii) is made without the participation or cooperation of and without consultation with a candidate or a candidate's representative.

"(B) The following shall not be considered an independent expenditure:

"(i) An expenditure made by an authorized committee of a candidate for Federal office

"(ii) An expenditure if there is any arrangement, coordination, or direction with respect to the expenditure between the candidate or the candidate's agent and the person making the expenditure.

"(iii) An expenditure if, in the same election cycle, the person making the expenditure is or has been—

"(I) authorized to raise or expend funds on behalf of the candidate or the candidate's authorized committees; or

"(II) serving as a member, employee, or agent of the candidate's authorized commit-

tees in an executive or policymaking position.

"(iv) An expenditure if the person making the expenditure retains the professional services of any individual or other person also providing services in the same election cycle to the candidate in connection with the candidate's pursuit of nomination for election, or election, to Federal office, including any services relating to the candidate's decision to seek Federal office. For purposes of this clause, the term 'professional services' shall include any services (other than legal and accounting services solely for purposes of ensuring compliance with any Federal law) in support of any candidate's or candidates' pursuit of nomination for election, or election, to Federal office.

For purposes of this subparagraph, the person making the expenditure shall include any officer, director, employee, or agent of such person.

"(18)(A) The term 'express advocacy' means, when a communication is taken as a whole and with limited reference to external events, an expression of support for or opposition to a specific candidate, to a specific group of candidates, or to candidates of a particular political party.

"(B) The term 'expression of support for or opposition to' includes a suggestion to take action with respect to an election, such as to vote for or against, make contributions to, or participate in campaign activity, or to refrain from taking action."

(b) CONTRIBUTION DEFINITION AMENDMENT.—Section 301(8)(A) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(A)) is amended—

(1) in clause (i), by striking "or" after the semicolon at the end;

(2) in clause (ii), by striking the period at the end and inserting "; or"; and

(3) by adding at the end the following new clause:

"(iii) any payment or other transaction referred to in paragraph (17)(A)(i) that is not an independent expenditure under paragraph (17)."

SEC. 202. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS FOR CERTAIN INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES.

Section 304(c) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(c)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (2), by striking the undersigned matter after subparagraph (C);

(2) by redesignating paragraph (3) as paragraph (9); and

(3) by inserting after paragraph (2), as amended by paragraph (1), the following new paragraphs:

"(3)(A) Any person (including a political committee) making independent expenditures (including those described in subsection (b)(6)(B)(iii)) with respect to a candidate in an election aggregating \$1,000 or more made after the 20th day, but more than 24 hours, before the election shall file a report within 24 hours after such independent expenditures are made. An additional report shall be filed each time independent expenditures aggregating \$1,000 are made with respect to the same candidate after the latest report filed under this subparagraph.

"(B) Any person (including a political committee) making independent expenditures with respect to a candidate in an election aggregating \$2,500 or more made at any time up to and including the 20th day before the election shall file a report within 48 hours after such independent expenditures are made. An additional report shall be filed each time independent expenditures aggregating \$2,500 are made with respect to the same candidate after the latest report filed under this paragraph.

"(C) A report under subparagraph (A) or (B) shall be filed with the Commission and the Secretary of State of the State involved,

and shall identify each candidate whom the expenditure is actually intended to support or to oppose. Not later than 48 hours after the Commission receives a report, the Commission shall transmit a copy of the report to each candidate seeking nomination or election to that office.

"(D) For purposes of this section, an independent expenditure shall be considered to have been made upon the making of any payment or the taking of any action to incur an obligation for payment.

"(4)(A) If any person (including a political committee) intends to make independent expenditures with respect to a candidate in an election totaling \$2,500 or more during the 20 days before an election, such person shall file a report no later than the 20th day before the election.

"(B) A report under subparagraph (A) shall be filed with the Commission and the Secretary of State of the State involved, and shall identify each candidate whom the expenditure is actually intended to support or to oppose. Not later than 48 hours after the Commission receives a report under this paragraph, the Commission shall transmit a copy of the statement to each candidate identified.

"(5) The Commission may, upon a request of a candidate or on its own initiative, make its own determination that a person has made, or has incurred obligations to make, independent expenditures with respect to any candidate in any election which in the aggregate exceed the applicable amounts under paragraph (3) or (4). The Commission shall notify each candidate in such election of such determination within 48 hours after making it. Any determination made at the request of a candidate shall be made within 48 hours of the request.

"(6) At the time at which an eligible House of Representatives candidate is notified under paragraph (3), (4), or (5) with respect to expenditures during a general election period, the Commission shall certify eligibility to receive benefits under section 504(a)(3)(B) or section 513(f).

"(7)(A) A person that makes a reservation of broadcast time to which section 315(a) of the Communications Act of 1947 (47 U.S.C. 315(a)) applies, the payment for which would constitute an independent expenditure, shall at the time of reservation—

"(i) inform the broadcast licensee that payment for the broadcast time will constitute an independent expenditure;

"(ii) inform the broadcast licensee of the names of all candidates for the office to which the proposed broadcast relates and state whether the message to be broadcast is intended to be made in support of or in opposition to each such candidate;

"(iii) transmit to all candidates for the office to which the proposed broadcast relates a script or tape recording of the communication, or an accurate summary of the communication if a script or tape recording is not available."

TITLE III—CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES BY POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES

SEC. 301. DEFINITIONS.

(a) CONTRIBUTION AND EXPENDITURE EXCEPTIONS.—(1) Section 301(8)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(B)) is amended—

(A) in clause (x)—

(i) by striking "and" at the end of subclause (2),

(ii) by inserting "and" at the end of subclause (3), and

(iii) by adding at the end the following new subclause:

"(4) such activities are conducted solely by, and any materials are prepared for distribution and mailing and are distributed (if

other than by mailing) solely by, volunteers;";

(B) in clause (xi), by striking "That" and all that follows through "Act;" and inserting "That—

"(1) such payments are made from contributions subject to the limitations and prohibitions of this Act; and

"(2) such activities are conducted solely by, and any materials are prepared for distribution and mailing and are distributed (if other than by mailing) solely by, volunteers;" and

(C) in clause (xii)—

(i) by inserting "in connection with volunteer activities" after "such committee";

(ii) by striking "for President and Vice President";

(iii) by striking "and" at the end of subclause (2);

(iv) by inserting "and" at the end of subclause (3); and

(v) by adding at the end the following new subclause:

"(4) such activities are conducted solely by, and any materials are prepared for distribution and mailing and are distributed (if other than by mailing) solely by, volunteers;";

(2) Section 301(9)(B) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 431(9)(B)) is amended—

(A) in clause (viii)—

(i) by striking "and" at the end of subclause (2);

(ii) by inserting "and" at the end of subclause (3); and

(iii) by adding at the end the following new subclause:

"(4) such activities are conducted solely by, and any materials are prepared for distribution and mailing and are distributed (if other than by mailing) solely by, volunteers;"; and

(B) in clause (ix)—

(i) by inserting "in connection with volunteer activities" after "such committee";

(ii) by striking "for President or Vice President"; and

(iii) by striking "and" at the end of subclause (2), by inserting "and" at the end of subclause (3), and by adding at the end the following new subclause:

"(4) such activities are conducted solely by, and any materials are prepared for distribution and are distributed (if other than by mailing) solely by, volunteers;";

(b) **GENERIC ACTIVITIES; STATE PARTY GRASSROOTS FUND.**—Section 301 of such Act (2 U.S.C. 431), as amended by section 133, is further amended by adding at the end the following new paragraphs:

"(30) The term 'generic campaign activity' means a campaign activity that promotes a political party rather than any particular Federal or non-Federal candidate.

"(31) The term 'State Party Grassroots Fund' means a separate segregated fund established and maintained by a State committee of a political party solely for purposes of making expenditures and other disbursements described in section 324(d)."

SEC. 302. CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES.

(a) **INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO STATE PARTY.**—Section 315(a)(1) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(1)) is amended—

(1) by striking "or" at the end of subparagraph (B);

(2) by redesignating subparagraph (C) as subparagraph (D); and

(3) by inserting after subparagraph (B) the following new subparagraph:

"(C) to—

"(i) a State Party Grassroots Fund established and maintained by a State committee of a political party in any calendar year which, in the aggregate, exceed \$20,000; or

"(ii) any other political committee established and maintained by a State committee of a political party in any calendar year which, in the aggregate, exceed \$5,000,

except that the aggregate contributions described in this subparagraph which may be made by a person to the State Party Grassroots Fund and all committees of a State committee of a political party in any State in any calendar year shall not exceed \$20,000; or";

(b) **MULTICANDIDATE COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTIONS TO STATE PARTY.**—Section 315(a)(2) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(2)) is amended—

(1) by striking "or" at the end of subparagraph (B);

(2) by redesignating subparagraph (C) as subparagraph (D); and

(3) by inserting after subparagraph (B) the following new subparagraph:

"(C) to—

"(i) a State Party Grassroots Fund established and maintained by a State committee of a political party in any calendar year which, in the aggregate, exceed \$15,000; or

"(ii) to any other political committee established and maintained by a State committee of a political party which, in the aggregate, exceed \$5,000,

except that the aggregate contributions described in this subparagraph which may be made by a multicandidate political committee to the State Party Grassroots Fund and all committees of a State committee of a political party in any State in any calendar year shall not exceed \$15,000; or";

(c) **OVERALL LIMIT.**—Section 315(a)(3) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(3)) is amended to read as follows:

"(3)(A) No individual shall make contributions during any election cycle which, in the aggregate, exceed \$100,000.

"(B) No individual shall make contributions during any calendar year—

"(i) to all candidates and their authorized political committees which, in the aggregate, exceed \$25,000; or

"(ii) to all political committees established and maintained by State committees of a political party which, in the aggregate, exceed \$20,000.

"(C) For purposes of subparagraph (B)(i), any contribution made to a candidate or the candidate's authorized political committees in a year other than the calendar year in which the election is held with respect to which such contribution is made shall be treated as made during the calendar year in which the election is held."

(d) **PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE COMMITTEE TRANSFERS.**—(1) Section 315(b)(1) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(b)(1)) is amended to read as follows:

"(B) in the case of a campaign for election to such office, an amount equal to the sum of—

"(i) \$20,000,000, plus

"(ii) the amounts transferred by the candidate and the authorized committees of the candidate to the national committee of the candidate's political party for distribution to State Party Grassroots Funds.

In no event shall the amount under subparagraph (B)(ii) exceed 2 cents multiplied by the voting age population of the United States (as certified under subsection (e)). The Commission may require reporting of the transfers described in subparagraph (B)(ii), may conduct an examination and audit of any such transfer, and may require the return of the transferred amounts to the Presidential Election Campaign Fund if not used for the appropriate purpose."

(2) Subparagraph (A) of section 9002(11) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended—

(A) by striking "or" at the end of clause (ii); and

(B) in clause (iii), by striking "offices," and inserting the following: "offices, or (iv) consisting of a transfer to the national committee of the political party of a candidate for the office of President or Vice President for distribution to State Party Grassroots Funds (as defined in the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971) to the extent such transfers do not exceed the amount determined under section 315(b)(1)(B)(ii) of such Act.".

SEC. 303. INCREASE IN THE AMOUNT THAT MULTICANDIDATE POLITICAL COMMITTEES MAY CONTRIBUTE TO NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES.

Section 315(a)(2)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(2)(B)) is amended by striking "\$15,000" and inserting "\$25,000".

SEC. 304. MERCHANDISING AND AFFINITY CARDS.

Section 316 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441b) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(c) Notwithstanding the provisions of this section or any other provision of this Act to the contrary, an amount received from a corporation (including a State-chartered or national bank) by any political committee (other than a separate segregated fund established under section 316(b)(2)(C)) shall be deemed to meet the limitations and prohibitions of this Act if such amount represents a commission or royalty on the sale of goods or services, or on the issuance of credit cards, by such corporation and if—

"(1) such goods, services, or credit cards are promoted by or in the name of the political committee as a means of contributing to or supporting the political committee and are offered to consumers using the name of the political committee or using a message, design, or device created and owned by the political committee, or both;

"(2) the corporation is in the business of merchandising such goods or services, or of issuing such credit cards;

"(3) the royalty or commission has been offered by the corporation to the political committee in the ordinary course of the corporation's business and on the same terms and conditions as those on which such corporation offers royalties or commissions to nonpolitical entities;

"(4) all revenue on which the commission or royalty is based represents, or results from, sales to or fees paid by individual consumers in the ordinary course of retail transactions;

"(5) the costs of any unsold inventory of goods are ultimately borne by the political committee in accordance with rules to be prescribed by the Commission; and

"(6) except for any royalty or commission permitted to be paid by this subsection, no goods, services, or anything else of value is provided by such corporation to the political committee, except that such corporation may advance or finance costs or extend credit in connection with the manufacture and distribution of goods, provision of services, or issuance of credit cards pursuant to this subsection if and to the extent such advance, financing, or extension is undertaken in the ordinary course of the corporation's business and is undertaken on similar terms by such corporation in its transactions with nonpolitical entities in like circumstances."

SEC. 305. PROVISIONS RELATING TO NATIONAL, STATE, AND LOCAL PARTY COMMITTEES.

(a) **SOFT MONEY OF COMMITTEES OF POLITICAL PARTIES.**—Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 is amended by inserting after section 323 the following new section:

“POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES

“SEC. 324. (a) LIMITATIONS ON NATIONAL COMMITTEE.—(1) A national committee of a political party and the congressional campaign committees of a political party may not solicit or accept contributions or transfers not subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act.

“(2) Paragraph (1) shall not apply to contributions—

“(A) that—

“(i) are to be transferred to a State committee of a political party and are used solely for activities described in clauses (xi) through (xvii) of paragraph (9)(B) of section 301; or

“(ii) are described in section 301(8)(B)(viii); and

“(B) with respect to which contributors have been notified that the funds will be used solely for the purposes described in subparagraph (A).

“(b) ACTIVITIES SUBJECT TO THIS ACT.—Any amount solicited, received, expended, or disbursed directly or indirectly by a national, State, district, or local committee of a political party with respect to any of the following activities shall be subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act:

“(1)(A) Any get-out-the-vote activity conducted during a calendar year in which an election for the office of President is held.

“(B) Any other get-out-the-vote activity unless subsection (c)(2) applies to the activity.

“(2) Any generic campaign activity.

“(3) Any activity that identifies or promotes a Federal candidate, regardless of whether—

“(A) a State or local candidate is also identified or promoted; or

“(B) any portion of the funds disbursed constitutes a contribution or expenditure under this Act.

“(4) Voter registration.

“(5) Development and maintenance of voter files during an even-numbered calendar year.

“(6) Any other activity that—

“(A) significantly affects a Federal election, or

“(B) is not otherwise described in section 301(9)(B)(xvii).

Any amount spent to raise funds that are used, in whole or in part, in connection with activities described in the preceding paragraphs shall be subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act.

“(c) GET-OUT-THE-VOTE ACTIVITIES BY STATE, DISTRICT, AND LOCAL COMMITTEES OF POLITICAL PARTIES.—(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), any get-out-the-vote activity for a State or local candidate, or for a ballot measure, which is conducted by a State, district, or local committee of a political party shall be subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act.

“(2) Paragraph (1) shall not apply to any activity which the State committee of a political party certifies to the Commission is an activity which—

“(A) is conducted during a calendar year other than a calendar year in which an election for the office of President is held,

“(B) is exclusively on behalf of (and specifically identifies only) one or more State or local candidates or ballot measures, and

“(C) does not include any effort or means used to identify or turn out those identified to be supporters of any Federal candidate (including any activity that is undertaken in coordination with, or on behalf of, a candidate for Federal office).

“(d) STATE PARTY GRASSROOTS FUNDS.—(1) A State committee of a political party may

make disbursements and expenditures from its State Party Grassroots Fund only for—

“(A) any generic campaign activity;

“(B) payments described in clauses (v), (x), and (xii) of paragraph (8)(B) and clauses (iv), (viii), and (ix) of paragraph (9)(B) of section 301;

“(C) subject to the limitations of section 315(d), payments described in clause (xii) of paragraph (8)(B), and clause (ix) of paragraph (9)(B), of section 301 on behalf of candidates other than for President and Vice President;

“(D) voter registration; and

“(E) development and maintenance of voter files during an even-numbered calendar year.

“(2) Notwithstanding section 315(a)(4), no funds may be transferred by a State committee of a political party from its State Party Grassroots Fund to any other State Party Grassroots Fund or to any other political committee, except a transfer may be made to a district or local committee of the same political party in the same State if such district or local committee—

“(A) has established a separate segregated fund for the purposes described in paragraph (1); and

“(B) uses the transferred funds solely for those purposes.

“(e) AMOUNTS RECEIVED BY GRASSROOTS FUND FROM STATE AND LOCAL CANDIDATE COMMITTEES.—(1) Any amount received by a State Party Grassroots Fund from a State or local candidate committee for expenditures described in subsection (b) that are for the benefit of that candidate shall be treated as meeting the requirements of subsection (b) and section 304(e) if—

“(A) such amount is derived from funds which meet the requirements of this Act with respect to any limitation or prohibition as to source or dollar amount specified in section 315(a) (1)(A) and (2)(A); and

“(B) the State or local candidate committee—

“(i) maintains, in the account from which payment is made, records of the sources and amounts of funds for purposes of determining whether such requirements are met; and

“(ii) certifies that such requirements were met.

“(2) For purposes of paragraph (1)(A), in determining whether the funds transferred meet the requirements of this Act described in such paragraph—

“(A) a State or local candidate committee's cash on hand shall be treated as consisting of the funds most recently received by the committee, and

“(B) the committee must be able to demonstrate that its cash on hand contains sufficient funds meeting such requirements as are necessary to cover the transferred funds.

“(3) Notwithstanding paragraph (1), any State Party Grassroots Fund receiving any transfer described in paragraph (1) from a State or local candidate committee shall be required to meet the reporting requirements of this Act, and shall submit to the Commission all certifications received, with respect to receipt of the transfer from such candidate committee.

“(4) For purposes of this subsection, a State or local candidate committee is a committee established, financed, maintained, or controlled by a candidate for other than Federal office.

“(f) RELATED ENTITIES.—The provisions of this Act shall apply to any entity that is established, financed, or maintained by a national committee or State committee of a political party in the same manner as they apply to the national or State committee.”

(b) CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES.—

(1) CONTRIBUTIONS.—Section 301(8)(B) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(B)) is amended—

(A) in clause (viii), by inserting after “Federal office” the following: “, or any amounts

received by the committees of any national political party to support the operation of a television and radio broadcast facility”;

(B) by striking “and” at the end of clause (xiii);

(C) by striking clause (xiv); and

(D) by adding at the end the following new clauses:

“(xiv) any amount contributed to a candidate for other than Federal office;

“(xv) any amount received or expended to pay the costs of a State or local political convention;

“(xvi) any payment for campaign activities that are exclusively on behalf of (and specifically identify only) State or local candidates and do not identify any Federal candidate, and that are not activities described in section 324(b) (without regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or section 324(c)(1);

“(xvii) any payment for administrative expenses of a State or local committee of a political party, including expenses for—

“(I) overhead, including party meetings;

“(II) staff (other than individuals devoting a significant amount of their time to elections for Federal office and individuals engaged in conducting get-out-the-vote activities for a Federal election); and

“(III) conducting party elections or caucuses;

“(xviii) any payment for research pertaining solely to State and local candidates and issues;

“(xix) any payment for development and maintenance of voter files other than during the 1-year period ending on the date during an even-numbered calendar year on which regularly scheduled general elections for Federal office occur; and

“(xx) any payment for any other activity which is solely for the purpose of influencing, and which solely affects, an election for non-Federal office and which is not an activity described in section 324(b) (without regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or section 324(c)(1).”

(2) EXPENDITURES.—Section 301(9)(B) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 431(9)(B)) is amended—

(A) by striking “and” at the end of clause (ix);

(B) by striking the period at the end of clause (x) and inserting a semicolon; and

(C) by adding at the end the following new clauses:

“(xi) any amount contributed to a candidate for other than Federal office;

“(xii) any amount received or expended to pay the costs of a State or local political convention;

“(xiii) any payment for campaign activities that are exclusively on behalf of (and specifically identify only) State or local candidates and do not identify any Federal candidate, and that are not activities described in section 324(b) (without regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or section 324(c)(1);

“(xiv) any payment for administrative expenses of a State or local committee of a political party, including expenses for—

“(I) overhead, including party meetings;

“(II) staff (other than individuals devoting a significant amount of their time to elections for Federal office and individuals engaged in conducting get-out-the-vote activities for a Federal election); and

“(III) conducting party elections or caucuses;

“(xv) any payment for research pertaining solely to State and local candidates and issues;

“(xvi) any payment for development and maintenance of voter files other than during the 1-year period ending on the date during an even-numbered calendar year on which regularly scheduled general elections for Federal office occur; and

“(xvii) any payment for any other activity which is solely for the purpose of influ-

encing, and which solely affects, an election for non-Federal office and which is not an activity described in section 324(b) (without regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or section 324(c)(1).''.

(c) LIMITATION APPLIED AT NATIONAL LEVEL; PERMITTING COMMITTEES TO MATCH INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES MADE ON OPPO-NENT'S BEHALF.—Section 315(d) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (3), by striking "The national committee" and inserting "Subject to paragraph (4), the national committee"; and

(2) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(4)(A) Notwithstanding paragraph (3), the applicable congressional campaign committee of a political party shall make the expenditures described in such paragraph which are authorized to be made by a national or State committee with respect to a candidate in any State unless it allocates all or a portion of such expenditures to either or both of such committees.

"(B) For purposes of paragraph (3), in determining the amount of expenditures of a national or State committee of a political party in connection with the general election campaign of a candidate for election to the office of Representative, Delegate, or Resident Commissioner, there shall be excluded an amount equal to the total amount of independent expenditures made during the campaign on behalf of candidates opposing the candidate.".

(d) LIMITATIONS APPLY FOR ENTIRE ELEC-TION CYCLE.—Section 315(d)(1) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)(1)) is amended by adding at the end the following new sentence: "Each limitation under the following paragraphs shall apply to the entire election cycle for an office."

SEC. 306. RESTRICTIONS ON FUNDRAISING BY CANDIDATES AND OFFICEHOLDERS.

(a) STATE FUNDRAISING ACTIVITIES.—Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a), as amended by section 122, is further amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(j) LIMITATIONS ON FUNDRAISING ACTIVITIES OF FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OFFICEHOLDERS AND CERTAIN POLITICAL COMMITTEES.—(1) For purposes of this Act, a candidate for Federal office, an individual holding Federal office, or any agent of the candidate or individual may not solicit funds to, or receive funds on behalf of, any Federal or non-Federal candidate or political committee—

"(A) which are to be expended in connection with any election for Federal office unless such funds are subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and requirements of this Act; or

"(B) which are to be expended in connection with any election for other than Federal office unless such funds are not in excess of amounts permitted with respect to Federal candidates and political committees under subsections (a) (1) and (2), and are not from sources prohibited by such subsections with respect to elections to Federal office.

"(2)(A) The aggregate amount which a person described in subparagraph (B) may solicit from a multicandidate political committee for State committees described in subsection (a)(1)(C) (including subordinate committees) for any calendar year shall not exceed the dollar amount in effect under subsection (a)(2)(B) for the calendar year.

"(B) A person is described in this subparagraph if such person is a candidate for Federal office, an individual holding Federal office, an agent of such a candidate or individual, or any national, State, district, or local committee of a political party (including a subordinate committee) and any agent of such a committee.

"(3) The appearance or participation by a candidate for Federal office or individual holding Federal office in any fundraising event conducted by a committee of a political party or a candidate for other than Federal office shall not be treated as a solicitation for purposes of paragraph (1) if such candidate or individual does not solicit or receive, or make disbursements from, any funds resulting from such activity.

"(4) Paragraph (1) shall not apply to the solicitation or receipt of funds, or disbursements, by an individual who is a candidate for other than Federal office if such activity is permitted under State law.

"(5) For purposes of this subsection, an individual shall be treated as holding Federal office if such individual—

"(A) holds a Federal office; or

"(B) holds a position described in level I of the Executive Schedule under section 5312 of title 5, United States Code."

(b) TAX-EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS.—Section 315 of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a), as amended by section 122 and subsection (a), is further amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(k) TAX-EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS.—(1) If an individual is a candidate for, or holds, Federal office during any period, such individual may not during such period solicit contributions to, or on behalf of, any organization which is described in section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 if—

"(A) the organization is established, maintained, or controlled by such individual; and

"(B) a significant portion of the activities of such organization include voter registration or get-out-the-vote campaigns.

"(2) For purposes of this subsection, an individual shall be treated as holding Federal office if such individual—

"(A) holds a Federal office; or

"(B) holds a position described in level I of the Executive Schedule under section 5312 of title 5, United States Code."

SEC. 307. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.

(a) REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.—Section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(d) POLITICAL COMMITTEES.—(1) The national committee of a political party and any congressional campaign committee of a political party, and any subordinate committee of either, shall report all receipts and disbursements during the reporting period, whether or not in connection with an election for Federal office.

"(2) A State, district, or local committee of a political party to which section 324 applies shall report all receipts and disbursements for the reporting period, including separate schedules for receipts and disbursements for State Grassroots Funds.

"(3) Any political committee shall include in its report under paragraph (1) or (2) the amount of any transfer described in section 324(d)(2) and shall itemize such amounts to the extent required by section 304(b)(3)(A).

"(4) The Commission may prescribe regulations to require any political committee to which paragraph (1) or (2) does not apply to report any receipts or disbursements used in connection with a Federal election, including those which are also used, directly or indirectly, to affect a State or local election.

"(5) If a political committee has receipts or disbursements to which this subsection applies from any person aggregating in excess of \$200 for any calendar year, the political committee shall separately itemize its reporting for such person in the same manner as subsection (b) (3)(A), (5), or (6).

"(6) Reports required to be filed by this subsection shall be filed for the same time periods required for political committees under subsection (a)."

(b) REPORT OF EXEMPT CONTRIBUTIONS.—Section 301(8) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 431(8)) is amended by inserting at the end the following new subparagraph:

"(C) The exclusion provided in clause (viii) of subparagraph (B) shall not apply for purposes of any requirement to report contributions under this Act, and all such contributions aggregating in excess of \$200 (and disbursements therefrom) shall be reported."

(c) REPORTS BY STATE COMMITTEES.—Section 304 of such Act (2 U.S.C. 434), as amended by subsection (a), is further amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(e) FILING OF STATE REPORTS.—In lieu of any report required to be filed by this Act, the Commission may allow a State committee of a political party to file with the Commission a report required to be filed under State law if the Commission determines such reports contain substantially the same information."

(d) OTHER REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.—

(1) AUTHORIZED COMMITTEES.—Section 304(b)(4) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 434(b)(4)) is amended—

(A) by striking "and" at the end of subparagraph (H);

(B) by adding "and" at the end of subparagraph (I); and

(C) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

"(J) in the case of an authorized committee, disbursements for the primary election, the general election, and any other election in which the candidate participates;".

(2) NAMES AND ADDRESSES.—Section 304(b)(5)(A) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 434(b)(5)(A)) is amended—

(A) by striking "within the calendar year", and

(B) by inserting ", and the election to which the operating expenditure relates" after "operating expenditure".

TITLE IV—CONTRIBUTIONS

SEC. 401. RESTRICTIONS ON BUNDLING.

Section 315(a)(8) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(8)) is amended to read as follows:

"(8)(A) No person, either directly or indirectly, may act as a conduit or intermediary for any contribution to a candidate.

"(B)(i) Nothing in this section shall prohibit—

"(I) joint fundraising conducted in accordance with rules prescribed by the Commission by 2 or more candidates; or

"(II) fundraising for the benefit of a candidate that is conducted by another candidate.

"(ii) No other person may conduct or otherwise participate in joint fundraising activities with or on behalf of any candidate.

"(C) The term 'conduit or intermediary' means a person who transmits a contribution to a candidate or candidate's committee or representative from another person, except that—

"(i) a House of Representatives candidate or representative of a House of Representatives candidate is not a conduit or intermediary for the purpose of transmitting contributions to the candidate's principal campaign committee or authorized committee;

"(ii) a professional fundraiser is not a conduit or intermediary, if the fundraiser is compensated for fundraising services at the usual and customary rate;

"(iii) a volunteer hosting a fundraising event at the volunteer's home, in accordance with section 301(8)(b), is not a conduit or intermediary for the purposes of that event; and

"(iv) an individual is not a conduit or intermediary for the purpose of transmitting a contribution from the individual's spouse.

For purposes of this section a conduit or intermediary transmits a contribution when receiving or otherwise taking possession of the contribution and forwarding it directly to the candidate or the candidate's committee or representative.

"(D) For purposes of this section, the term 'representative'—

"(i) shall mean a person who is expressly authorized by the candidate to engage in fundraising, and who, in the case of an individual, is not acting as an officer, employee, or agent of any other person;

"(ii) shall not include—

"(I) a political committee with a connected organization;

"(II) a political party;

"(III) a partnership or sole proprietorship;

"(IV) an organization prohibited from making contributions under section 316; or

"(V) a person required to register under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.).

"(E) For purposes of this section, the term 'acting as an officer, employee, or agent of any other person' includes the following activities by a salaried officer, employee, or paid agent of a person described in subparagraph (D)(ii)(IV):

"(i) Soliciting contributions to a particular candidate in the name of, or by using the name of, such a person.

"(ii) Soliciting contributions to a particular candidate using other than the incidental resources of such a person.

"(iii) Soliciting contributions to a particular candidate under the direction or control of other salaried officers, employees, or paid agents of such a person.

For purposes of this subparagraph, the term 'agent' shall include any person (other than individual members of an organization described in subparagraph (b)(4)(C) of section 316) acting on authority or under the direction of such organization."

SEC. 402. CONTRIBUTIONS BY DEPENDENTS NOT OF VOTING AGE.

Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a), as amended by sections 122 and 306, is further amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(1) For purposes of this section, any contribution by an individual who—

"(1) is a dependent of another individual; and

"(2) has not, as of the time of such contribution, attained the legal age for voting for elections to Federal office in the State in which such individual resides,

shall be treated as having been made by such other individual. If such individual is the dependent of another individual and such other individual's spouse, the contribution shall be allocated among such individuals in the manner determined by them."

SEC. 403. PROHIBITION OF ACCEPTANCE BY A CANDIDATE OF CASH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM ANY ONE PERSON AGGREGATING MORE THAN \$100.

Section 321 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441g) is amended by inserting ", and no candidate or authorized committee of a candidate shall accept from any one person," after "make".

SEC. 404. CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES FROM STATE AND LOCAL COMMITTEES OF POLITICAL PARTIES TO BE AGGREGATED.

Section 315(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)), as amended by section 121, is further amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(10) Notwithstanding paragraph (5)(B), a candidate for Federal office may not accept, with respect to an election, any contribution from a State or local committee of a political party (including any subordinate com-

mittee of such committee) if such contribution, when added to the total of contributions previously accepted from all such committees of that political party, exceeds a limitation on contributions to a candidate under this section."

SEC. 405. PROHIBITION OF FALSE REPRESENTATION TO SOLICIT CONTRIBUTIONS.

Section 322 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441h) is amended—

(1) by inserting after "SEC. 322." the following: "(a)"; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

"(b) No person shall solicit contributions by falsely representing himself or herself as a candidate or as a representative of a candidate, a political committee, or a political party."

SEC. 406. LIMITED EXCLUSION OF ADVANCES BY CAMPAIGN WORKERS FROM THE DEFINITION OF THE TERM "CONTRIBUTION".

Section 301(8)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(B)), as amended by section 305, is amended—

(1) in clause (xix), by striking "and" after the semicolon at the end;

(2) in clause (xx), by striking the period at the end and inserting: "; and"; and

(3) by adding at the end the following new clause:

"(xxi) any advance voluntarily made on behalf of an authorized committee of a candidate by an individual in the normal course of such individual's responsibilities as a volunteer for, or employee of, the committee, if the advance is reimbursed by the committee within 10 days after the date on which the advance is made, and the value of advances on behalf of a committee does not exceed \$500 with respect to an election."

SEC. 407. AMENDMENT TO SECTION 316 OF THE FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN ACT OF 1971.

Section 316(b)(2) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441b(b)(2)) is amended—

(1) by striking "(2) For" and inserting "(2)(A) Except as provided in subparagraph (B), for";

(2) by redesignating subparagraphs (A), (B), and (C) as clauses (i), (ii), and (iii), respectively; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

"(B) Payments by a corporation or labor organization for candidate debates, voter guides, or voting records directed to the general public shall be considered contributions unless—

"(i) in the case of a candidate debate, the organization staging the debate is either an organization described in section 301 (9)(B)(i) whose broadcasts, cablecasts, or publications are supported by commercial advertising, subscriptions, or sales to the public, including a noncommercial educational broadcaster, or a nonprofit organization exempt from Federal taxation under section 501(c)(3) or 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 that does not endorse, support, or oppose candidates or political parties, and any such debate features at least 2 candidates competing for election to that office;

"(ii) in the case of a voter guide, the guide is prepared and distributed by a corporation or labor organization and consists of questions posed to at least two candidates for election to that office; and

"(iii) in the case of a voting record, the record is prepared and distributed by a corporation or labor organization at the end of a session of Congress and consists solely of votes by all Members of Congress in that session on one or more issues;

except that such payments shall be treated as contributions if any communication made by a corporation or labor organization in connection with the candidate debate, voter

guide, or voting record contains express advocacy, or any structure or format of the candidate debate, voter guide, or voting record, or any preparation or distribution of any such guide or record, reflects a purpose of influencing the election of a particular candidate."

SEC. 408. PROHIBITION OF CERTAIN ELECTION-RELATED ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN NATIONALS.

Section 319 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441e) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(c) A foreign national shall not directly or indirectly direct, control, influence, or participate in any person's election-related activities, such as the making of contributions or expenditures in connection with elections for any local, State, or Federal office or the administration of a political committee."

TITLE V—REPORTING REQUIREMENTS

SEC. 501. CHANGE IN CERTAIN REPORTING FROM A CALENDAR YEAR BASIS TO AN ELECTION CYCLE BASIS.

Paragraphs (2), (3), (4), (6), and (7) of section 304(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(b) (2)–(7)) are each amended by inserting "(election cycle, in the case of an authorized committee of a candidate for Federal office)" after "calendar year" each place it appears.

SEC. 502. DISCLOSURE OF PERSONAL AND CONSULTING SERVICES.

(a) REPORTING BY POLITICAL COMMITTEES.—Section 304(b)(5)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(b)(5)(A)) is amended by adding before the semicolon at the end the following: ", except that if a person to whom an expenditure is made by a candidate or the candidate's authorized committees is merely providing personal or consulting services and is in turn making expenditures to other persons (not including its owners or employees) who provide goods or services to the candidate or the candidate's authorized committees, the name and address of such other person, together with the date, amount and purpose of such expenditure shall also be disclosed".

(b) RECORDKEEPING AND REPORTING BY PERSONS TO WHOM EXPENDITURES ARE PASSED THROUGH.—Section 302 of such Act (2 U.S.C. 432) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(j) The person described in section 304(b)(5)(A) who is providing personal or consulting services and who is in turn making expenditures to other persons (not including employees) for goods or services provided to a candidate shall maintain records of and shall provide to a political committee the information necessary to enable the political committee to report the information described in section 304(b)(5)(A)."

SEC. 503. POLITICAL COMMITTEES OTHER THAN CANDIDATE COMMITTEES.

Section 303(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 433(b)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (2), by inserting ", and if the organization or committee is incorporated, the State of incorporation" after "committee"; and

(2) by striking the "name and address of the treasurer" in paragraph (4) and inserting "the names and addresses of any officers (including the treasurer)".

SEC. 504. USE OF CANDIDATES' NAMES.

Section 302(e)(4) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432(e)(4)) is amended to read as follows:

"(4)(A) The name of each authorized committee shall include the name of the candidate who authorized the committee under paragraph (1).

"(B) A political committee that is not an authorized committee shall not—

"(i) include the name of any candidate in its name, or

"(ii) except in the case of a national, State, or local party committee, use the name of any candidate in any activity on behalf of such committee in such a context as to suggest that the committee is an authorized committee of the candidate or that the use of the candidate's name has been authorized by the candidate."

SEC. 505. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.

(a) FILING ON THE 20TH DAY OF A MONTH.—Section 304(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(a)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (2)(A)(iii), by striking "15th" and inserting "20th";

(2) in paragraph (3)(B)(ii), by striking "15th" and inserting "20th";

(3) in paragraph (4)(A)(i), by striking "15th" and inserting "20th"; and

(4) in paragraph (8), by striking "15th" and inserting "20th".

(b) OPTION TO FILE MONTHLY REPORTS.—Section 304(a)(2) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 434(a)(2)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by striking "and" at the end;

(2) in subparagraph (B), by striking the period at the end and inserting "; and"; and

(3) by inserting the following new subparagraph at the end:

"(C) in lieu of the reports required by subparagraphs (A) and (B), the treasurer may file monthly reports in all calendar years, which shall be filed no later than the 20th day after the last day of the month and shall be complete as of the last day of the month, except that, in lieu of filing the reports otherwise due in November and December of any year in which a regularly scheduled general election is held, a pre-primary election report and a pre-general election report shall be filed in accordance with subparagraph (A)(i), a post-general election report shall be filed in accordance with subparagraph (A)(ii), and a year end report shall be filed no later than January 31 of the following calendar year."

(c) POLITICAL COMMITTEES.—Section 304(a)(4) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 434(a)(4)) is amended in subparagraph (A)(i) by inserting ", and except that if at any time during the election year a committee receives contributions in excess of \$100,000 (\$10,000 in the case of a multicandidate political committee), or makes disbursements in excess of \$100,000 (\$10,000 in the case of a multicandidate political committee), monthly reports on the 20th day of each month after the month in which that amount of contributions is first received or that amount of disbursements is first anticipated to be made during that year" before the semicolon.

(d) INCOMPLETE OR FALSE CONTRIBUTOR INFORMATION.—Section 302(i) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 432(i)) is amended—

(1) by inserting "(1)" after "(i)";

(2) by striking "submit" and inserting "report"; and

(3) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(2) A treasurer shall be considered to have used best efforts under this section only if—

"(A) all written solicitations include a clear and conspicuous request for the contributor's identification and inform the contributor of the committee's obligation to report the identification in a statement prescribed by the Commission;

"(B) the treasurer makes at least 1 additional request for the contributor's identification for each contribution received that aggregates in excess of \$200 per calendar year and which does not contain all of the information required by this Act; and

"(C) the treasurer reports all information in the committee's possession regarding contributor identifications."

(e) WAIVER.—Section 304 of such Act (2 U.S.C. 434), as amended by section 307, is further amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(f) WAIVER.—The Commission may relieve any category of political committees of the obligation to file 1 or more reports required by this section, or may change the due dates of such reports, if it determines that such action is consistent with the purposes of this Act. The Commission may waive requirements to file reports in accordance with this subsection through a rule of general applicability or, in a specific case, may waive or extend the due date of a report by notifying all political committees affected."

SEC. 506. SIMULTANEOUS REGISTRATION OF CANDIDATE AND CANDIDATE'S PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.

Section 303(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 433(a)) is amended in the first sentence by striking "no later than 10 days after designation" and inserting "on the date of its designation".

SEC. 507. REPORTING ON GENERAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES OF PERSONS OTHER THAN POLITICAL PARTIES.

(a) REPORTING REQUIREMENT.—Section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434), as amended by sections 307 and 505, is further amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(g) CERTAIN COMMUNICATIONS BY CORPORATIONS AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.—(1) Any person making disbursements to pay the cost of applicable communication activities aggregating \$5,000 or more with respect to a candidate in an election after the 20th day, but more than 24 hours, before the election shall file a report of such disbursements within 24 hours after such disbursements are made.

"(2) Any person making disbursements to pay the cost of applicable communications activities aggregating \$5,000 or more with respect to a candidate in an election at any time up to and including the 20th day before the election shall file a report within 48 hours after such disbursements are made.

"(3) Any person required to file a report under paragraph (1) or (2) which also makes disbursements to pay the cost directly attributable to a get-out-the-vote campaign described in section 316(b)(2)(B) aggregating \$25,000 or more with respect to an election shall file a report within 48 hours after such disbursements are made.

"(4) An additional report shall be filed each time additional disbursements described in paragraph (1), (2), or (3), whichever is applicable, aggregating \$10,000 are made with respect to the same candidate in the same election as the initial report filed under this subsection. Each such report shall be filed within 48 hours after the disbursements are made.

"(5) For purposes of this subsection, the term 'applicable communication activities' means activities which are covered by the exception to section 301(9)(B)(iii).

"(6) Any statement under this subsection—

"(A) shall be filed in the case of—

"(i) disbursements relating to candidates for the House of Representatives, with the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of State of the State involved, and

"(ii) any other disbursements, with the Commission, and

"(B) shall contain such information as the Commission shall prescribe."

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 301(9)(B) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 431(9)(B)) is amended by inserting "and shall, if such costs exceeds the amount described in paragraph (1), (2), or (4) of section 304(g), be reported in the manner provided in section 304(g)" before the semicolon at the end of clause (iii).

TITLE VI—BROADCAST RATES AND CAMPAIGN ADVERTISING

SEC. 601. BROADCAST RATES AND CAMPAIGN ADVERTISING.

(a) BROADCAST RATES.—Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 315) is amended—

(1) by amending subsection (b) to read as follows:

"(b)(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), the charges made for the use of a broadcasting station by a person who is a legally qualified candidate for public office in connection with the person's campaign for nomination for election, or election, to public office shall not exceed the charges made for comparable use of such station by other users thereof.

"(2) In the case of an eligible House of Representatives candidate, during the 30 days preceding the date of the primary or primary runoff election and during the 60 days preceding the date of a general or special election in which the person is a candidate, the charges made for the use of a broadcasting station by the candidate shall not exceed 50 percent of the lowest unit charge of the station for the same class and amount of time for the same period;"

(2) by redesignating subsections (c) and (d) as subsections (f) and (g), respectively;

(3) by inserting after subsection (b) the following new subsections:

"(c)(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), a licensee shall not preempt the use, during any period specified in subsection (b)(1)(A), of a broadcast station by a legally qualified candidate for public office who has purchased and paid for such use pursuant to subsection (b)(1)(A).

"(2) If a program to be broadcast by a broadcasting station is preempted because of circumstances beyond the control of the broadcasting station, any candidate advertising spot scheduled to be broadcast during that program may also be preempted.

"(d) If any person makes an independent expenditure through a communication on a broadcasting station that expressly advocates the defeat of an eligible House of Representatives candidate, or the election of an eligible House of Representatives candidate (regardless of whether such opponent is an eligible candidate), the licensee, as applicable, shall, not later than 5 business days after the date on which the communication is made (or not later than 24 hours after the communication is made if the communication occurs not more than 2 weeks before the date of the election), transmit to the candidate—

"(1) a statement of the date and time on which the communication was made;

"(2) a script or tape recording of the communication, or an accurate summary of the communication if a script or tape recording is not available; and

"(3) an offer of an equal opportunity for the candidate to use the broadcasting station to respond to the communication without having to pay for the use in advance.

"(e) A licensee that endorses a candidate for Federal office in an editorial shall, within the time period stated in subsection (d), provide to all other candidates for election to the same office—

"(1) a statement of the date and time of the communication;

"(2) a script or tape recording of the communication, or an accurate summary of the communication if a script or tape recording is not available; and

"(3) an offer of an equal opportunity for the candidate or spokesperson for the candidate to use the broadcasting station to respond to the communication;" and

(4) in subsection (f), as redesignated by paragraph (2)—

(A) by striking "and" at the end of paragraph (1);

(B) by striking the period at the end of paragraph (2) and inserting "; and"; and

(C) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(3) the terms 'eligible House of Representatives candidate' and 'independent expenditure' have the meanings stated in section 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971."

(b) **REVOCACTION OF LICENSE FOR FAILURE TO PERMIT ACCESS.**—Section 312(a)(7) of such Act (47 U.S.C. 312(a)(7)) is amended—

(1) by striking "or repeated";

(2) by inserting "or cable system" after "broadcasting station"; and

(3) by striking "his candidacy" and inserting "his or her candidacy, under the same terms, conditions, and business practices as apply to its most favored advertiser".

(c) **MEETING REQUIREMENTS FOR RATES AS CONDITION OF GRANTING OR RENEWAL OF LICENSE.**—Section 307 of such Act (47 U.S.C. 307) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(f) The continuation of an existing license, the renewal of an expiring license, and the issuance of a new license shall be expressly conditioned on the agreement by the licensee or the applicant to meet the requirements of section 315(b), except that the Commission may waive this condition in the case of a licensee or applicant who demonstrates (in accordance with such criteria as the Commission may establish in consultation with the Federal Election Commission) that meeting such requirements will impose a significant financial hardship."

SEC. 602. CAMPAIGN ADVERTISING AMENDMENTS.

Section 318 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441d) is amended—

(1) in the matter before paragraph (1) of subsection (a), by striking "Whenever" and inserting "Whenever a political committee makes a disbursement for the purpose of financing any communication through any broadcasting station, newspaper, magazine, outdoor advertising facility, mailing, or any other type of general public political advertising, or whenever";

(2) in the matter before paragraph (1) of subsection (a), by striking "an expenditure" and inserting "a disbursement";

(3) in the matter before paragraph (1) of subsection (a), by striking "direct";

(4) in paragraph (3) of subsection (a), by inserting after "name" the following "and permanent street address"; and

(5) by adding at the end the following new subsections:

"(c) Any printed communication described in subsection (a) shall be—

"(1) of sufficient type size to be clearly readable by the recipient of the communication;

"(2) contained in a printed box set apart from the other contents of the communication; and

"(3) consist of a reasonable degree of color contrast between the background and the printed statement.

"(d)(1) Any communication described in subsection (a)(1) or (a)(2) that is provided to and distributed by any broadcasting station or cable system (as such terms are defined in sections 315 and 602, respectively, of the Federal Communications Act of 1934) shall include, in addition to the requirements of subsections (a)(1) and (a)(2), an audio statement by the candidate that identifies the candidate and states that the candidate has approved the communication.

"(2) If a communication described in paragraph (1) contains any visual images, the communication shall include a written statement which contains the same information as the audio statement and which—

"(A) appears at the end of the communication in a clearly readable manner with a reasonable degree of color contrast between the background and the printed statement, for a period of at least 4 seconds; and

"(B) is accompanied by a clearly identifiable photographic or similar image of the candidate.

"(e)(1) Any communication described in subsection (a)(3) that is provided to and distributed by any broadcasting station or cable system described in subsection (d)(1) shall include, in addition to the requirements of that subsection, in a clearly spoken manner, the following statement—

"I am responsible for the content of this advertisement."

with the blank to be filled in with the name of the political committee or other person paying for the communication and the name of any connected organization of the payor.

"(2) If the communication described in paragraph (1) contains visual images, the communication shall include a written statement which contains the same information as the audio statement and which appears in a clearly readable manner with a reasonable degree of color contrast between the background and the printed statement for a period of at least 4 seconds."

SEC. 603. ELIGIBILITY FOR NONPROFIT THIRD-CLASS BULK RATES OF POSTAGE.

Paragraph (2) of section 3626(e) of title 39, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A) by striking "Committee, and the" and inserting "Committee, the", and by striking "Committee;" and inserting "Committee, and a qualified campaign committee;";

(2) by striking "and" at the end of subparagraph (B);

(3) by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (C) and inserting a semicolon; and

(4) by adding at the end the following:

"(D) the term 'qualified campaign committee' means the campaign committee of an eligible House of Representatives candidate; and

"(E) the term 'eligible House of Representatives candidate' has the meaning given that term in section 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971."

TITLE VII—MISCELLANEOUS

SEC. 701. PROHIBITION OF LEADERSHIP COMMITTEES.

Section 302(e) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432(e)) is amended—

(1) by amending paragraph (3) to read as follows:

"(3) No political committee that supports or has supported more than one candidate may be designated as an authorized committee, except that—

"(A) a candidate for the office of President nominated by a political party may designate the national committee of such political party as the candidate's principal campaign committee, but only if that national committee maintains separate books of account with respect to its functions as a principal campaign committee; and

"(B) a candidate may designate a political committee established solely for the purpose of joint fundraising by such candidates as an authorized committee."; and

(2) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(6)(A) A candidate for Federal office or any individual holding Federal office may not establish, finance, maintain, or control any Federal or non-Federal political committee other than a principal campaign committee of the candidate, authorized committee, party committee, or other political committee designated in accordance with paragraph (3). A candidate for more than one Federal office may designate a separate prin-

icipal campaign committee for each Federal office. This paragraph shall not preclude a Federal officeholder who is a candidate for State or local office from establishing, financing, maintaining, or controlling a political committee for election of the individual to such State or local office.

"(B) For 2 years after the effective date of this paragraph, any political committee established before such date but which is prohibited under subparagraph (A) may continue to make contributions. At the end of that period such political committee shall disburse all funds by one or more of the following means: making contributions to an entity qualified under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986; making a contribution to the treasury of the United States; contributing to the national, State or local committees of a political party; or making contributions not to exceed \$1,000 to candidates for elective office."

SEC. 702. APPEARANCE BY FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION AS AMICI CURIAE.

Section 306(f) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437c(f)) is amended by striking out paragraph (4) and inserting in lieu thereof the following new paragraph:

"(4)(A) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph (2), or of any other provision of law, the Commission is authorized to appear on its own behalf in any action related to the exercise of its statutory duties or powers in any court as either a party or as amicus curiae, either—

"(i) by attorneys employed in its office, or

"(ii) by counsel whom it may appoint, on a temporary basis as may be necessary for such purpose, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and whose compensation it may fix without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title. The compensation of counsel so appointed on a temporary basis shall be paid out of any funds otherwise available to pay the compensation of employees of the Commission.

"(B) The authority granted under subparagraph (A) includes the power to appeal from, and petition the Supreme Court for certiorari to review, judgments or decrees entered with respect to actions in which the Commission appears pursuant to the authority provided in this section."

SEC. 703. PROHIBITING SOLICITATION OF CONTRIBUTIONS BY MEMBERS IN HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—A Member of the House of Representatives may not solicit or accept campaign contributions in the Hall of the House of Representatives, rooms leading thereto, or the cloakrooms.

(b) **DEFINITION.**—In subsection (a), the term "Member of the House of Representatives" means a Representative in, or a Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, Congress.

(c) **EXERCISE OF RULEMAKING AUTHORITY.**—This section is enacted by Congress—

(1) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of the House of Representatives, and as such this section is deemed a part of the rules of the House of Representatives and supersedes other rules only to the extent inconsistent therewith; and

(2) with full recognition of the constitutional right of the House of Representatives to change the rule at any time, in the same manner and to the same extent as in the case of any other rule of the House of Representatives.

TITLE VIII—EFFECTIVE DATES; AUTHORIZATIONS

SEC. 801. EFFECTIVE DATE.

Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the amendments made by, and the provisions

of, this Act shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act, but shall not apply with respect to activities in connection with any election occurring before January 1, 1997.

SEC. 802. SEVERABILITY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this section, if any provision of this Act (including any amendment made by this Act), or the application of any such provision to any person or circumstance, is held invalid, the validity of any other provision of this Act, or the application of such provision to other persons and circumstances, shall not be affected thereby.

(b) EXCEPTIONS.—If any provision of subtitle A of title V of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as added by title I) is held to be invalid, all provisions of such subtitle, and the amendment made by section 122, shall be treated as invalid.

SEC. 803. EXPEDITED REVIEW OF CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES.

(a) DIRECT APPEAL TO SUPREME COURT.—An appeal may be taken directly to the Supreme Court of the United States from any final judgment, decree, or order issued by any court finding any provision of this Act or amendment made by this Act to be unconstitutional.

(b) ACCEPTANCE AND EXPEDITION.—The Supreme Court shall, if it has not previously ruled on the question addressed in the ruling below, accept jurisdiction over, advance on the docket, and expedite the appeal to the greatest extent possible.

SEC. 804. REGULATIONS.

The Federal Election Commission shall prescribe any regulations required to carry out the provisions of this Act within 12 months after the effective date of this Act.

It was decided in the { Yeas 177
negative } Nays 243

94.20 [Roll No. 363]
AYES—177

Abercrombie	Durbin	Lantos
Ackerman	Edwards	Leach
Andrews	Engel	Levin
Baesler	Eshoo	Lewis (GA)
Baldacci	Evans	Lipinski
Barrett (WI)	Farr	LoBiondo
Becerra	Fattah	Lofgren
Beilenson	Fazio	Lowey
Bentsen	Fields (LA)	Luther
Bereuter	Filner	Maloney
Berman	Flake	Manton
Bilirakis	Foglietta	Markey
Bishop	Forbes	Martinez
Blumenauer	Frank (MA)	Martini
Blute	Frisa	Mascara
Boehlert	Frost	Matsui
Bonior	Furse	McCarthy
Borski	Gejdenson	McDermott
Browder	Gephardt	McHale
Brown (CA)	Gibbons	McHugh
Brown (FL)	Gilman	McKinney
Brown (OH)	Gonzalez	McNulty
Bryant (TX)	Gordon	Meehan
Cardin	Green (TX)	Meek
Chapman	Gutierrez	Menendez
Clayton	Hall (OH)	Millender
Clement	Hamilton	McDonald
Clyburn	Harman	Miller (CA)
Coburn	Hefner	Minge
Collins (MI)	Hilliard	Mink
Conyers	Hinchey	Moakley
Costello	Holden	Mollohan
Coyne	Hoyer	Moran
Cramer	Jackson (IL)	Nadler
Cummings	Jackson-Lee	Neal
Danner	(TX)	Olver
de la Garza	Jefferson	Owens
DeFazio	Johnson (SD)	Pallone
DeLauro	Johnson, E. B.	Pastor
Dellums	Johnston	Payne (NJ)
Dicks	Kaptur	Payne (VA)
Dingell	Kennedy (MA)	Pelosi
Dixon	Kennedy (RI)	Pomeroy
Doggett	Kennelly	Quinn
Doyle	Klecza	Rangel
Duncan	LaFalce	Reed

Richardson
Rivers
Roemer
Rose
Roybal-Allard
Rush
Sabo
Sanders
Sawyer
Schroeder
Schumer
Scott
Serrano
Shays

Skaggs
Slaughter
Spratt
Stark
Stokes
Studds
Stupak
Thompson
Thornton
Thurman
Torres
Torricelli
Towns
Velazquez

Vento
Visclosky
Ward
Waters
Watt (NC)
Waxman
Williams
Wilson
Wise
Woolsey
Wynn
Yates
Zimmer

NOES—243

Allard	Geren	Norwood
Archer	Gilchrest	Nussle
Army	Gillmor	Oberstar
Bachus	Gingrich	Obey
Baker (CA)	Goodlatte	Ortiz
Baker (LA)	Goodling	Orton
Ballenger	Goss	Oxley
Barcia	Graham	Packard
Barr	Greene (UT)	Parker
Barrett (NE)	Greenwood	Paxon
Bartlett	Gunderson	Peterson (MN)
Barton	Gutknecht	Petri
Bass	Hall (TX)	Pickett
Bateman	Hancock	Pombo
Bilbray	Hansen	Porter
Bliley	Hastert	Portman
Boehner	Hastings (WA)	Poshard
Bonilla	Hayworth	Pryce
Bono	Hefley	Radanovich
Boucher	Heineman	Rahall
Brewster	Herger	Ramstad
Brownback	Hilleary	Regula
Bryant (TN)	Hobson	Riggs
Bunn	Hoekstra	Roberts
Bunning	Hoke	Rogers
Burr	Horn	Rohrabacher
Burton	Hostettler	Ros-Lehtinen
Buyer	Houghton	Roukema
Callahan	Hunter	Royce
Calvert	Hutchinson	Salmon
Camp	Hyde	Sanford
Campbell	Inglis	Saxton
Canady	Istook	Scarborough
Castle	Jacobs	Schaefer
Chabot	Johnson (CT)	Schiff
Chambliss	Johnson, Sam	Seastrand
Chenoweth	Jones	Sensenbrenner
Christensen	Kanjorski	Shadegg
Chrysler	Kasich	Shaw
Clay	Kelly	Shuster
Clinger	Kildee	Sisisky
Coble	Kim	Skeen
Collins (GA)	King	Skelton
Combest	Kingston	Smith (MI)
Condit	Klink	Smith (NJ)
Cooley	Klug	Smith (TX)
Cox	Knollenberg	Smith (WA)
Crane	Kolbe	Solomon
Crapo	LaHood	Souder
Cremeans	Largent	Spence
Cubin	Latham	Stearns
Cunningham	LaTourette	Stenholm
Davis	Laughlin	Stockman
Deal	Lazio	Stump
DeLay	Lewis (CA)	Talent
Diaz-Balart	Lewis (KY)	Tate
Dickey	Lightfoot	Tauzin
Dooley	Linder	Taylor (MS)
Doolittle	Livingston	Taylor (NC)
Dornan	Longley	Tejeda
Dreier	Lucas	Thomas
Dunn	Manzullo	Thornberry
Ehlers	McCollum	Tiaht
Ehrlich	McCrery	Torkildsen
English	McInnis	Traficant
Ensign	McIntosh	Upton
Everett	McKeon	Volkmer
Ewing	Metcalf	Vucanovich
Fawell	Meyers	Walker
Fields (TX)	Mica	Walsh
Flanagan	Miller (FL)	Wamp
Foley	Molinari	Watts (OK)
Fowler	Montgomery	Weldon (FL)
Fox	Moorhead	Weldon (PA)
Franks (CT)	Morella	Weller
Franks (NJ)	Murtha	White
Frelinghuysen	Myers	Whitfield
Funderburk	Myrick	Wicker
Gallegly	Nethercutt	Wolf
Ganske	Neumann	Young (AK)
Gekas	Ney	Zeliff

NOT VOTING—14

Bevill	Hastings (FL)	Quillen
Coleman	Hayes	Roth
Collins (IL)	Lincoln	Tanner
Deutsch	McDade	Young (FL)
Ford	Peterson (FL)	

So the amendment in the nature of a substitute was not agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore, Mr. DREIER, assumed the Chair.

When Mr. INGLIS, Chairman, pursuant to House Resolution 481, reported the bill back to the House as amended by the adoption of said resolution.

The previous question having been ordered by said resolution.

Pursuant to House Resolution 481, the following text of the bill, as amended by the adoption of said resolution, was considered adopted in the House and in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the “Campaign Finance Reform Act of 1996”.

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents of this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

Sec. 2. Findings.

TITLE I—RESTORING CONTROL OF ELECTIONS TO INDIVIDUALS

Sec. 101. Requiring majority of House of Representatives candidate funds to come from individuals residing in district.

Sec. 102. Reduction in allowable contribution amounts for political action committees; Revision of limitations on amounts of other contributions.

Sec. 103. Modification of limitations on contributions when candidates spend or contribute large amounts of personal funds.

Sec. 104. Indexing limits on contributions.

Sec. 105. Prohibition of leadership committees.

Sec. 106. Prohibiting bundling of contributions to candidates by political action committees and lobbyists.

Sec. 107. Definition of independent expenditures.

Sec. 108. Requirements for use of payroll deductions for contributions.

TITLE II—STRENGTHENING POLITICAL PARTIES

Sec. 201. Limitation amount for contributions to state political parties.

Sec. 202. Allowing political parties to offset funds carried over from previous elections.

Sec. 203. Prohibiting use of non-Federal funds in Federal elections.

Sec. 204. Permitting parties to have unlimited communication with members.

Sec. 205. Promoting State and local party volunteer and grassroots activity.

TITLE III—DISCLOSURE AND ENFORCEMENT

Sec. 301. Timely reporting and increased disclosure.

Sec. 302. Streamlining procedures and rules of Federal Election Commission.

TITLE IV—WORKER RIGHT TO KNOW

Sec. 401. Findings.

Sec. 402. Purpose.

Sec. 403. Worker choice.

Sec. 404. Worker consent.

Sec. 405. Worker notice.